DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 057 129 UD 011 918

AUTHOR Levine, Daniel U.; And Others
TITLE Interracial Attitudes and Contacts Among a Sample of White Students in Suburban Secondary Schools.
INSTITUTION Missouri Univ., Kansas City. Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education.
PUB DATE May 70
NOTE 22p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Negroes; *Negro Students; Race Relations; *Racial Attitudes; Racial Discrimination; *Student Attitudes

ABSTRACT

This study collected data on the attitudes that white students have toward blacks and the relation between interracial contact and racial attitudes. A questionnaire was administered to students attending six predominantly white high schools in suburban and suburban-type school districts in Jackson County, Missouri. One hundred questionnaires were drawn at random from each high school. Honesty in response from the students was encouraged by guaranteeing the anonymity of the schools and students involved. From the results, it was shown that the white students sampled from segregated suburban high schools tend to report having generally favorable attitudes toward, but little contact with black Americans. This is in line with long-term trends which have made it socially unacceptable to express openly negative attitudes towards blacks. However, it was also found that a substantial minority of students expressed hostility and prejudice towards blacks (stereotypes); these students offered simplistic or negative proposals for solving problems of race relations. (JW)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education
University of Missouri-Kansas City
5100 Rockhill Road
Kansas City, Missouri 64110

May, 1970

# Interracial Attitudes and Contacts Among a Sample of White Students in Suburban Secondary Schools

Daniel U. Levine, Norman Fiddmont
and Janet New

ED057129

## Introduction

As part of an earlier study of the attitudes of students attending three predominantly-black high schools in Kansas City, Missouri, data were collected which indicated that attitude toward whites was associated with degree of previous contact with whites.[1]

An obvious implication of this finding was that interracial contact is desirable for building or maintaining positive interracial attitudes and relationships among black youngsters growing up in a large metropolitan area.

To obtain corresponding data on the interracial attitudes and contacts of white students, a questionnaire was administered to students attending six predominantly white high schools in suburban and suburban-type school districts in Jackson County, Missouri. One hundred questionnaires were drawn at random from those completed by students in each high school. After responses had been coded, one questionnaire was eliminated because a respondent had not completed a majority of the items; thus the sample in the present study of white suburban students consists of 599 subjects.

Assessing the interracial attitudes of white students is even more difficult than is true with respect to black students. Black youngsters in the urban north or west do not have quite as much reason to simulate favorable or positive attitudes toward whites as white youngsters do toward blacks. The "official" ideology in white America today endorses racial tolerance and disapproves prejudice; hence negative attitudes which may include greater or lesser degrees of racial prejudice are likely to be repressed, not admitted to oneself, or, at the very least, not openly expressed outside of one's own immediate social reference group.

Research on interracial attitudes must take these difficulties into account at each stage of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data. In the present study, honesty in response was encouraged not only by guaranteeing that the identity of participating schools and school districts would not be divulged but also by refraining from collecting any personal information on students in the sample. In addition, five of the seven items on the questionnaire were open-ended, since items of this kind are more likely to elicit a truthful response dealing with social attitudes than are multiple-choice or other questions which ask for a choice among specified alternatives.

---

[1] Norman Fiddmont and Daniel U. Levine, Attitudes and Experiences Influencing Civil Rights Viewpoints Among Negro High School Students in Kansas City, Missouri. Condensed Report. Kansas City, Missouri: Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, April, 1969, p. 6.

UD011918

The questionnaire was a short seven-item instrument which took only a few minutes to fill out. It was administered during the last week of the 1969 spring term. Less than one-half of one percent of the students in the high schools included in the sample are black or members of other racial minority groups. For purposes of analysis, therefore, it was assumed that the sample consisted entirely of white students.

Normally we would collect data on such background variables as age, sex, social class, and grade level of respondents, but in this case it was feared that some students might not answer truthfully if they felt there was any conceivable way to match a respondent with his questionnaire. Accordingly, we do not know anything about the respondents other than the fact that they were all enrolled in suburban senior high schools in Jackson County, Missouri in the spring of 1969.

Although we have not been able to find recent studies which utilized precisely the same questions we asked in this study of the interracial attitudes and contacts of suburban white high school students in a major metropolitan area, there have been many survey studies concerned in one way or another with the relationships between these two variables. The pertinent studies which have come to our attention have reached the same general conclusion concerning the attitudes of white Americans: increases in contact with individuals of another race tend to be associated with more favorable or positive attitudes toward members of the other race.[2]

Since 1) the students in our sample live in communities and attend schools in which it is difficult if not impossible to have meaningful contact with black Americans, and 2) since we had no reason to believe either that their schools and churches have been making a major effort to combat negative interracial attitudes or could succeed in such an effort in the highly segregated environment which exists in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, we would expect to find substantial evidence of negative attitudes toward black Americans among our respondents, even in the face of typical American reluctance to openly profess negative and stereotyped viewpoints toward another group of citizens.

Scoring of questionnaires

As noted in the previous section, the majority of items on the questionnaire required open-ended answers from the students who responded to them. The answers to two of these items, "What are the first words you think about when you see or hear the term 'Negro'?" and "What do you think is the most important thing that should be done to improve race relations?", could not be used to analyze the attitudes of respondents in the sample until responses were organized in some way that would reveal the general tendencies implicit in the responses. This required classification of the responses into a manageable number of categories and, in turn, some measure of the reliability with which the responses had been classified.

---

[2] e.g., "Adult Consequences of Racial Isolation and Desegregation in the Schools," Appendices - Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Volume 2 of a Report by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, 211-242; Y. Amir, "Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations," Psychological Bulletin, 1969, 71, 319-342.

The item asking for "the first words you think about when you see or hear the tern 'Negro'" was handled by classifying responses into one of a) 9 subject matter categories (including "miscellaneous") established by one of the authors who was thoroughly familiar with the data (see Table 1 for a listing of the categories used on item one as well as other items in the questionnaire); b) 5 categories portraying whether the response was favorable or unfavorable toward black Americans; and c) 8 categories describing the kinds of stereotypes which were implicit in the responses.

The second item on suggestions for improving race relations was handled by classifying each response into one of a) 4 categories related to whether a response was sympathetic toward black Americans and b) 14 categories (including "don't know, miscellaneous, and evasive) describing the general kinds of actions implicit in the responses.

Reliability was determined by drawing every sixth questionnaire from the first 300 questionnaires in the sample and having five scorers independently classify responses into the various categories established for each of the two items described above. The number of times two or more scorers were in complete agreement in classifying a response was subtracted from the maximum amount of agreement possible among all five scorers (300 x 5 = 1500) to estimate the reliability of each kind of categorization. Reliability estimates obtained in this manner ranged from 84% to 96% for the five sets of classifications.

Responses to Items

Before examining some of the interrelationships between responses to two or more items on the questionnaire, instructive findings can be reported concerning the kinds of attitudes and opinions respondents expressed on each individual item.

On item one, "What are the first words you think about when you see or hear the term, 'Negro'?", it can be seen in Table 1 that 44 percent of the 565 students who responded to this item gave responses which were classified under the heading, "Black person, person of a different color, human being." Responses in this category embody reactions or images which seem neutral-to-positive about black Americans. Combined with the responses to the categories, "A person who is equal"; "A person who is discriminated against, a disadvantaged person"; "Slums, poverty, inner city"; and "A friend, soul brother, sports, cool dancers, good people," which might be considered anywhere from slightly negative-to-clearly positive, 61 percent of the 565 responses appeared to be manifesting slightly negative-to-positive imagery about Negroes. Twenty-six percent of the responses, on the other hand, embodied the clearly negative reactions and imagery of the categories, "Jungle bunny, chocolate drop, nigger, coons, black bastards, son of a bitch, trash"; "Lower ability, lazy black people"; "Trouble, racial disturbance, riot, Black Power militants"; and "Untrustworthy, moody, punks in gangs, thieves, murderers, liars."

One way to assess the affective tones in these images more explicitly is to categorize each response according to whether it is favorable or unfavorable toward black Americans. The results of this approach are shown in the second part of Table 1.

It is interesting to find that on the first measure (above), 26 percent of the respondents were scored as using imagery clearly negative about Negroes, and on the second measure 23 percent of the answers of students in the sample were

independently scored as "very unfavorable." Evidently about one-fourth of the students in a sample such as the present one are inclined to openly express negative or prejudicial feelings about black Americans.

Part three of Table 1 shows the kinds of stereotypes which were most prevalent among the responses given to item one. The majority of students (69 percent) did not respond with any clearly-identifiable stereotype, but 14 percent gave responses which stereotyped Negroes as being generally inferior, 11 percent stereotyped black Americans as having criminal tendencies, and the responses of another nine percent stereotyped Negroes in terms of "offensive or animal-like behavior."

The next item on the questionnaire asked respondents to estimate, "About how many Negroes would you say you know well?" As shown in Table 1, 214 of the 591 students (36 percent) who responded to this item said they did not know a single black person well,[3] and more than half (58 percent) do not feel they know more than two Negroes well. Only eighteen percent said they knew seven or more Negroes this well.

When asked, "Do you like the average Negro you have met?", 52 percent of the respondents who answered the item said "almost all" or "most." Only 11 percent said "hardly any" or "none."

Responses to the item, "How many Negro friends do you have about your own age?" showed that half of the 585 respondents who answered the question did not have a single black friend of similar age. Twelve percent reported having four or more black friends of their own age.

Asked the question, "Do you think it would be desirable or undesirable for our country to be separated into two nations, one white and one black?", 71 percent of the 586 students who responded said this development would be either "undesirable" or "very undesirable"; only 8 percent said it would be either "desirable" or "very desirable."[4]

The next item shown in Table 1 is "About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust?" Thirty-eight percent of the 504 students who responded said they felt they could trust more than half of their black fellow citizens. One-quarter said they did not feel they could trust as many as 10 percent of black Americans - a figure which is quite comparable to the 23 percent of the sample whose answers to item one (see above) were classified as very unfavorable toward blacks. Sixty-two percent said they did not feel they could trust as many as 50 percent of black Americans.

When we asked for responses to the item,"What do you think is the most important thing that should be done to improve race relations?", 71 percent of the 505

---

[3]This figure was much higher than the comparable percentage (15 percent) of black students in our earlier study who said they did not know a single white person well.

[4]This latter figure was slightly lower than the 14 percent of students in our study of black students who thought separatism would be desirable or very desirable.

students who responded and whose answers proved classifiable gave answers which we classified as sympathetic to black Americans. When we classified the responses of the 547 subjects who responded to the item into one of fourteen categories describing the main suggestion or thrust of each response, it was found that 22 percent of the responses fell in the category "Understanding of the races through intergroup dialogue and cooperation." The only other suggestion which was made by more than ten percent of the sample was to "End prejudice, disregard color." Altogether, there are five categories for answers which describe what we would call clearly "positive" though rather non-specific suggestions for improving race relations. This group of five categories consists of the two mentioned above plus "Achieve civil rights and equality"; "live up to the ideals of equality and justice"; and "Education, for blacks and whites." Fifty-one percent of the 547 responses fell in one of these five categories. Eight percent of the respondents' answers fit into the only clearly "negative" category, "Deport or exterminate blacks or other minority groups."

Profile of the typical respondent

Considering the preponderance of responses given to items on the questionaire, the "typical" student in our sample, portrayed in terms of these self-reported modal tendencies, is one:

1) whose image of black Americans is more favorable and positive than unfavorable and negative;
2) who thinks of black Americans as "people of a different color" and does not express clear-cut stereotypes about blacks;
3) who does not know any black Americans well or have a single black friend his own age
4) who likes most of the blacks whom he has met but does not feel he can trust the majority of black Americans.
5) who believe it is undesirable for our society to become separated into two sub-societies based on race and offers suggestions for improving race relationships which tend to be sympathetic toward black Americans but very general.

Relationships Between Variables

Examination of the data quickly showed that many of the variables involving the interracial attitudes and contacts of white students in the study were related to one another. Whether a student said he knew few or many Negroes, for example, had an obvious bearing on whether he was likely to report having positive attitudes toward Negroes; that is, students who knew many Negroes well were more likely to say they "liked" almost all or most of the Negroes whom they had met than were students who reported knowing few black citizens well. Among the 102 students who knew seven or more Negroes well, for example, 67 percent said they liked "almost all" or "most" of the Negroes whom they had met, as compared with 48 percent of the 126 students who said they knew one or two Negroes well.

Relationships of this type are difficult to assess because it is not easy to decide whether respondents who have contact with blacks tend to develop positive attitudes toward them or whether positive attitudes toward black Americans leads to more frequent and meaningful contact, or both. One way to learn more about the dynamics of such relationships is to introduce a third variable and look ad the relationship between the first two while accounting for the influence of the third.

This can be done in the present case, for example, by asking respondents if they trust black Americans and then carrying out an analysis to determine whether attitudes toward blacks are still associated with number of blacks known well independent of trust in blacks. Similarly, one can ask if trust in blacks is associated with attitudes toward blacks independently of number of blacks known well.

Tabulations showing the relationships between these three variables are shown in Tables 2 through 4. Major conclusions drawn from these data were as follows:
1) Liking for blacks is associated with number of blacks known well even when control is imposed for trust in blacks (Table 2). Although this relationship shows up most strongly among students who trust less than 21 percent of black Americans, the same tendency is statistically significant at the .05 significance level among students who trust 51-100% of blacks.

At the same time, the relation between liking for blacks and number of blacks known well seems to be dependent on a minimal sense of trust toward blacks. For students who say they trust half or more of black Americans, at least two-thirds even of those who do not know any blacks well say they like "almost all" or "most" Negroes. Among those who trust 20 percent or less of black Americans, on the other hand, at least half the respondents in each of the three groups classified by number of blacks known well say they like "few," "hardly any," or "no" blacks. That the relationship between liking for blacks and number of blacks known well is strongest among students who distrust most blacks (see above) further supports the conclusion that some minimal level of trust is an important factor in determining whether a white youngsters is likely to meet and become friendly with individual black Americans.

2) When responses are classified by liking for blacks, there is no relationship between number of blacks known well and trust in blacks (Table 3).

3) Favorable attitude toward Negroes is very closely and consistently related to trust in blacks even when control is imposed for number of blacks known well (Table 4).

Reviewing the findings from the analyses shown in Tables 2, 3, and 4, it appears that a circular process is at work in which favorable feelings about blacks is an intervening variable between number of blacks known well and trust in blacks. At one stage in this process number of blacks known well is associated with favorable attitudes toward blacks; this may mean that respondents who become better acquainted with black Americans tend to develop positive feelings toward them, or that development of positive feelings leads to greater willingness to meet more blacks, or both. As students become more favorable toward blacks, they tend to become less distrustful of black Americans, and those who develop enough trust to meet and respond to a black person as an individual rather than as a stimulus which triggers a deep sense of distrust become much more favorable toward blacks as they get to meet and know a few black Americans. Positive feelings toward blacks then leads, in turn, to more contact with blacks as well as a further reduction in level of distrust of blacks.

These data also allow one to envision an equivalent but opposite process wherein students who dislike the blacks whom they have met not only withdraw from or avoid subsequent contact with blacks but also become increasingly distrustful of

blacks. Distrust in blacks then leads to more negative feelings toward blacks, which leads, in turn, to an even greater degree of avoidance of blacks. With little or no contact with blacks to modify these negative feelings and attitudes, individuals caught up in such a process build up an increasingly generalized distrust of all black Americans and more firmly resist or avoid opportunities for meaningful contacts with blacks.

The degree to which total distrust toward blacks is associated with extreme attitudes and viewpoints on other parts of the questionnaire can be portrayed by comparing the responses of respondents who say they trust no black people at all with the responses of those who say they trust only 1-10 percent of black Americans. When these comparisons were carried out for the 45 respondents who fell in the former group and the 78 who fell in the latter one, we found such differences as the following among students who also responded to other items on the questionnaire:

- 29 percent of students in the first group but only 3 percent in the second gave answers to item one which fell in the category, "Jungle bunny, chocolate drop, nigger, coon, black bastard, son of a bitch, trash."

- Only 35 percent of the former group as compared with 52 percent of the latter group did not stereotype blacks negatively. This difference can be attributed primarily to the greater propensity for students who trust no Negroes at all to state that blacks are inferior (53 percent), as compared with students who trust 1-10 percent of blacks (20 percent).

- Only 13 percent of the former group as compared with 39 percent of the latter group gave responses which were classified as "obviously" or "probably sympathetic" to blacks in response to the item, "What do you think is the most important thing that should be done to improve race relations?"

- 43 percent of the responses to this question by the former group, as compared with 20 percent of the latter group, fell in the category "Deport or exterminate blacks or other minority groups."

-21 percent of the latter group as compared with 49 percent of the former said that separation of the races into "two nations" was either desirable or very desirable.

Thus the student who distrusts all blacks can be perceived as being deep in a syndrome marked not just by distrust but also by extreme isolation from and ill will toward black Americans, and extremist, simplistic views on race relations. His entanglement in this syndrome seems markedly more "total" than is true in the case of students who are willing to express trust in at least a few blacks. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which contact with blacks, better communications with blacks, better understanding of race relations problems - or anything else - could have an appreciable effect in moderating this syndrome. What is fairly clear is that respondents in this category (05-08 percent of our sample) may function to trigger violent intergroup conflict in a society increasingly characterized by geographic segregation and stratification.

Given the negative stereotypes of black Americans which are widespread in our society and our history, it is likely that stereotyping as well as trust also plays a major part in the development of attitudes toward and contacts with blacks. Trust in blacks and stereotyping of blacks, for one thing, are themselves related: we found that students who distrust blacks are more prone to express negative stereotypes about them than are those who are less distrustful. This may mean that a student who distrusts blacks may do so partly because he perceives Negroes as a group in terms of negative stereotypes, or that distrust itself may lead to acceptance of negative stereotypes, oe both. But whether stereotyping or distrust is the initial force which tends to set in motion the other, stereotyping probably plays a part in determining whether white students have favorable feelings about and come into contact with black Americans. The relationships between these variables are examined in the analyses shown in Tables 5, 6, and 7, in which responses to the item, "What are the first words you think about when you see or hear the term 'Negro'?" were classified according to whether a respondent's answer incorporated no negative stereotype, one negative stereotype, or two negative stereotypes of black Americans[4] (as measured in No. 3 of Table 1). Conclusions derived from the data in these tables were as follows:

1) Negative stereotyping of blacks is consistently related to liking for blacks independently of number of blacks known well (Table 5).

2) When account is taken of whether students are favorable or unfavorable toward the blacks whom they have met, there is no relationship between number of blacks known well and negative stereotyping of blacks (Table 6). In none of the three groups of students who like "few," "hardly any" or "none" of the Negroes whom they have met does the percentage of respondents who did not negatively stereotype blacks rise as high as 50 percent, put five of the six groups of students who like at least some blacks score at least 70 percent in this category. This finding may mean that negative stereotypes of blacks tend to be particularly resistant to modification until positive feelings toward blacks reaches a minimally significant level indicative of at least some open-mindedness toward black Americans.

---

[4]For the purposes of analyzing the relationships between stereotyping and other variables on the questionnaire, all eight of the stereotype categories shown in No. 3 on Table 1 were considered to embody negative stereotypes of blacks. Although it is obvious that some of these stereotypes are much more negative than others, we assumed that even the relatively less value-laden category "Slum-dweller" exemplified at least partially-negative stereotyping of blacks. After most of our analysis had been completed, we discovered that several responses which had incorporated possibly-positive stereotypes such as "good athletes" had been scored in the category "inferior skills or abilities." (Coders felt that the context in which such responses were given generally suggested the perception that, "Negroes are good at sports but not much else.") Thus it is possible that our data exaggerate the extent to which respondents perceived black Americans as being "inferior in skills or abilities." The number of incorrectly-scored responses of this type, however, almost certainly was too small to noticeably affect our analysis of the relationship between stereotyping and other variables.

3) Number of blacks known well is related to liking for blacks in two of the three categories of students classified by negative stereotyping toward black (Table 7). This association between number of blacks known well and liking for blacks does not appear in the case of students who used two negative stereotypes of blacks. Evidently the tendencies for respondents to be more favorable toward blacks as they became better acquainted with black Americans and to become better acquainted with blacks as they develop positive attitudes toward them cease to operate strongly in the case of white youngsters who are especially prone to negatively stereotype black Americans.

These data suggest that liking for blacks is an intervening variable between number of blacks known well and negative stereotyping of blacks. The three variables appear to be part of a circular process wherein contact with blacks apparently leads to an increase in foavorable attitudes (or a reduction of negative attitudes) toward blacks, and increased friendliness toward blacks in turn leads to reduction in negative stereotyping of blacks and greater willingness to become better acquainted with blacks. Among respondents who are prone to express negative stereotypes about black Americans, however, this process often has not even started to operate; as shown in Table 7, 53 percent of the 84 respondents who expressed two negative stereotypes say they like "few, hardly any, or none" of the blacks whom they have met.

Other relationships involving attitudes concerning race and race relations

Since such variables as contact with blacks and negative stereotyping of blacks appear to be associated with favorable vs. unfavorable feelings toward blacks, it is natural to ask whether these variables are associated with attitudes on issues related to race relations. To explore this question, we compared the answers respondents gave to the items involving contact with blacks and stereotyping of blacks with their responses to the item asking for opinions on what should be done to improve race relations. The results are shown in Table 8.

The data in Table 8a show that although there is a slight tendency for respondents who know more blacks to give answers focusing on interracial understanding and cooperative progress, in each of the four groups of respondents classified by number of blacks known well the preponderance of classifiable responses fall into the five categories "Understanding through intergroup cooperation and dialogue"; "End prejudice, disregard color"; "Achieve civil rights and equality"; "Live up to the ideals of equality and justice"; and "Education, for whites and blacks." The respective percentages of responses in these five categories for the four groups are as follows:

| Number of Blacks Known Well | % |
|---|---|
| 0 (N = 198) | - 49 |
| 1-2 (N = 112) | - 53 |
| 3-4 (N = 78) | - 66 |
| 5 or more (N = 156) | - 55 |

A few figures do, however, stand out in Table 8a. One is the greater tendency of respondents who do not know a single Negro well to suggest that the way to improve race relations is to deport or exterminate black Americans or other minority groups; 12 percent of the respondents in this group, as compared with 5 percent

in the remainder of the sample, expressed this opinion. (Overall, 41 of the 599 students in our sample expressed themselves in favor of this "solution" to problems of race relations in the United States.)

Another figure which stands out in Table 8a is that 11 percent of the respondents who know 5 or more blacks well stated a belief that integration is the best way to improve race relations, as compared with 3 percent of the students who know fewer Negroes well. Conversely, not a single one of 95 students who knew 7 or more blacks well expressed the opinion that segregation would be a desirable solution to the problems of race relations (not shown in Table 8a).

Table 8 also shows the suggestions made on improving race relations in relation to the various stereotypes about black Americans which respondents gave to the item, "What are the first words you think about when you see or hear the term, 'Negro'?" (Since some respondents expressed more than one stereotype, the number of entries in the cells is greater than the number of students in the sample.) One of the few patterns which stands out is the relatively high frequency with which respondents who say they think of black Americans as being dirty, inferior, or poor also state that the way to improve race relations is to deport or exterminate blacks or other minority groups: 33 percent, 12 percent, and 11 percent, respectively, of the students who expressed these stereotypes volunteered this answer in responding to the item on improving race relations. Stated differently, only 16 percent of the statements endorsing this "solution" to racial problems came from the 65 percent of students in the sample who did not express stereotypes about black Americans, thus indicating that tendencies to express support for deportation or extermination of minority Americans is closely associated with the tendency to express stereotypes about blacks.

One other interesting finding shown in Table 8b can be seen in the suggestions made by respondents who said they thought of black Americans in terms of low-income slum-dwellers. Sixty-eight percent of these respondents' suggestions for improving race relations fell in five categories focusing on interracial understanding and cooperation; another 11 percent expressed a preference for deporting or exterminating minority Americans. This finding suggests that a potentially-negative stereotype is not necessarily associated with systematically-negative attitudes toward black Americans, and that attitudes involving race relations depend on the sophistication and total attitude structure of the respondent who holds a stereotype.

Stereotyping also is related to viewpoint on race relations as assessed by the item, "Do you think it would be desirable or undesirable for our country to be separated into two nations, one white and one black?" Cross-tabulations carried out on these variables were as follows:

| Kind of Stereotype of Blacks[5] | Percent Answering that Separation is Desirable |
|---|---|
| Dirty (N = 8) | 50 |
| Inferiority (mental, general, specific skills) (N = 67) | 29 |
| Criminal (N = 64) | 22 |

[5]Since respondents were scored for two different stereotypes if their responses clearly embodied two or more stereotypes, the number of stereotypes shown in this table is more than the 599 students in the sample.

| | |
|---|---|
| Offensive or animal-like behavior (N = 51) | 19 |
| Slum-dweller (N = 49) | 08 |
| No stereotype (N = 388) | 04 |
| Lazy (N = 12) | 00 |

Beyond the obvious fact that students who do not express negative stereotypes of blacks are much less likely to agree that separation is desirable than students who do not express such stereotypes, it is interesting to note possible differences related to the kinds of stereotypes expressed in students' responses. The respective percentages of respondents who perceive separation as being desirable are much greater in the case of students who express clearly-negative stereotypes presuming that blacks are "animal-like," "dirty," "inferior," and "criminal" than among those expressing slightly-more-neutral stereotypes presuming that black people are poor or lazy. Since the numbers of respondents in two of these categories ("dirty" and "lazy") are very small, however, these results must be interpreted with some caution.

## Summary, discussion, and implications

Few of the results reported on the preceding pages are at all surprising. One major finding, for example, was that respondents in our sample of white students from segregated suburban high schools tend to report having generally favorable attitudes toward but little actual contact with black Americans. These results are well in line with long-term trends which have made it socially unacceptable to express openly negative attitudes toward black Americans. For many years, only an increasingly small minority of whites, particularly among the young, have expressed such opinions in responding to interviewers or questionnaires.

On the other hand, we also found that a substantial minority of students in our sample expressed hostility and prejudice toward black Americans (i.e., a clear tendency to pre-judge all or most blacks according to pre-conceived ideas not derived from direct contact with blacks) and offered simplistic or extremely negative proposals to alleviate the complicated problems of race relations in our society. Depending on the attitude or issue at hand and the interpretation placed on our data, this minority can be estimated as constituting anywhere from perhaps 10 to 25 percent of the young people in our study.

It was interesting to find that 34 percent of the responses to a word-association item were scored as embodying "unfavorable" or "very unfavorable" imagery of Negroes and that 28 percent of the responses to an item on action to improve race relations were scored as "unsympathetic" or "obviously unsympathetic" to blacks, but only 11 percent of the students in our sample said they liked "hardly any" or "none" of the blacks whom they had met and only 8 percent said they thought "separation into two nations, one black and one white" is either "desirable" or "very desirable." These response patterns suggest that many white students are developing or holding to relatively open-minded and positive attitudes toward blacks in the face of the numerous negative images and barriers created by historical and social forces in our society. It is also the case, however, that responses to a paper-and-pencil instrument such as was used in the present study probably underestimate the true extent to which antagonism, mutual stereotyping, and negative attitudes exist among social and ethnic groups in the United States; hence our estimate that the percentage of individuals characterized primarily by hostility and prejudice probably amounts to between 10 and 25 percent in a population such as that from which our sample was drawn.

Our findings raise several important questions. It is encouraging to find confirmation of long-range historical trends which show white youngsters tending to express relatively favorable attitudes toward black Americans. But it is disconcerting to find that contact with blacks is associated with favorable feelings toward blacks and, indirectly, with reduction in distrust and negative stereotyping of blacks - and then to realize that few students in our sample report meaningful contact with blacks: the majority neither know more than one black person well nor have a single black friend their own age.

As in many other metropolitan areas, increasing numbers of black Americans moved into the inner core part of Kansas City after World War II. Although it could not be said that there was much significant interracial contact on a personal level before that time, the movement of whites to the suburbs and the outlying parts of the city together with the confinement of blacks to the central city meant that white and black Americans have become increasingly separated by geography as well as social background in the past twenty-five years. This process is still continuing today. Thus it is not surprising to find that white youngsters growing up in the suburbs have little direct contact with blacks. In view of traditional inhibitions on interracial contact now being strongly reinforced by geography, it would be astounding to find white and black citizens reporting much meaningful contact with one another.

In this context there is room for much trepidation concerning the future of rac relations in the Kansas City area, as elsewhere in the United States. The present study and our previous study of black high school students together suggest that youngsters of both races tend to be more sympathetic toward members of the other race and more rejecting of extremist racial attitudes if they have interracial contact but that few are growing up with an opportunity to develop firm friendships with persons of the other race. (This is more true for white students than for black students.) Our data indicate that relatively little interracial contact can go a long way in moderating interracial antagonisms - but it is an open question whether even this small amount of contact is being provided for most young people in our increasingly segregated and stratified metropolitan areas.

At one level, the positive feelings which white and black youngsters in our two samples tend to express toward members of the opposite race indicate that the churches, the schools, and the mass media are having some effect in developing or inculcating an abstract sense of "good will" toward others which is a basic precondition for the successful maintenance of a pluralistic society. Great importance cannot be attached to this phenomenon, however, in the absence of evidence that social processes are operating to translate abstract good feelings toward other groups into effective solutions to our common problems and constructive relationships among groups. At the present time it is doubtful whether social processes really are working in this direction.

The condition of working-class and underclass minority citizens in the central city has failed to improve very much and in some respects has been deteriorating with each passing year, but most whites are far removed from this situation and tend to believe that the problems of growing up and raising children in or near the inner city are no more severe than was true in the 1930's and 1940's. The majority of whites, accordingly, show little understanding of proposals for fundamental change to improve the lives of minority residents in the city. Black citizens, for their part, become exasperated with the token nature of anti-poverty

programs to improve housing, education, and employment opportunities in predominantly black neighborhoods, and many attribute the relative impotency of these programs to malevolence on the part of the white majority. Among both whites and blacks, a small nucleus of persons completely alienated against the other race works diligently to spread hatred, destructive rumors, negative stereotypes, and false understandings concerning the motivations, intentions, and values of members of the opposite race. Without appreciable personal contact between blacks and whites, it may prove impossible to establish sufficient mutual trust and good feelings between the races to check and counteract the negative effects of misperceptions, differences of interest, and incendiary statements and viewpoints on both sides. In these circumstances the relatively positive interracial attitudes expressed by our white and black students may turn out to be only so many pious platitudes which fail to generate policies and actions necessary to moderate or avoid destructive interracial confrontation.

The implications of these results are obvious. If positive interracial attitudes on the part of both white and black students are considered desirable or important, provisions should be made to bring young people into continuing contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups. In a society that has established numerous geographic and social barriers to separate young people of differing racial groups from one another, it is not enough to hope that most youngsters somehow will develop interracial tolerance, friendships, and understandings on a hit-or-miss basis: many youngsters will not have the opportunity to do so, and social conditions will tend to generate a vicious cycle of racial isolation and distrust, incendiary stereotyping, and group antagonism such as appears to be operating in the lives of a number of students in our samples from white and black high schools in the Kansas City area. Superficial and infrequent contact with people of another race often will prove insufficient to moderate negative stereotypes and antagonisms which thrive on isolation and the absence of first-hand knowledge about groups being pre-judged.

Particularly since there is reason to believe that having friends one's own age is a potent factor in the development of positive interracial attitudes, schools have a special responsibility not just for the verbal teaching of traditional ideals such as brotherhood and tolerance, but also for providing socially- and racially-heterogeneous environments in which young people can learn to live in accordance with these ideals. Desegregated and destratified schooling does not and cannot guarantee that every student will develop the social skills and understandings appropriate to a pluralistic society, but experience in heterogeneous educational environments can do much to improve intergroup and interracial relationships among young people whose personal contacts otherwise generally would be limited to members of their own racial and social groups.

Desegregated and destratified educational environments are not in and of themselves the fundamental elements which determine whether interracial understanding among young people will be advanced or impeded. Social scientists have clearly demonstrated, for example, that intergroup understanding tends to improve when social situations are structured so that people of differing groups have continuing, direct contact in working out solutions to common problems in a setting that ensures the fullest possible participation on the part of the members of each group. In the case of desegregated schools or other heterogeneous educational environments, this means that teachers and other professional personnel need a great deal of special help, resources, and community support in working to make such environments an effective force for the development of positive intergroup attitudes and

relationships; otherwise desegregation and destratification will be a meaningless and sometimes even a negative experience for many of the individuals who participate in it. Teachers, parents, and interested laymen undoubtedly could live a more relaxed life if the racial and social-class problems of our society showed any sign of solving themselves without active intervention and extraordinary effort by concerned and dedicated adults. But the alternative is to thrust the burgeoning problems of intergroup relations in the United States on the backs of our children without giving them the opportunity to develop the attitudes and skills on which harmonious group relations are dependent.

TABLE 1

Patterns of Response to Items

| Item | Classification or Categorization of Responses to the Item | %* (N) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. What are the first words you think about when you hear the term, "Negro?" | a) A person who is equal | 03 (19) |
| | b) A person who is discriminated against, a disadvantaged person | 07 (38) |
| | c) Slums, poverty, inner city | 03 (19) |
| | d) Black person, person of a different color, human being | 44(247) |
| | e) A friend, soul brother, sports, cool dancers, good people | 04 (22) |
| | f) Jungle bunny, chocolate drop, nigger, coons, black bastards, son of a bitch, trash | 06 (36) |
| | g) Lower ability, lazy black people | 01 ( 8) |
| | h) Trouble, racial disturbance, riot, Black Power militants | 15 (87) |
| | i) Untrustworthy, moody, punks in gangs, thieves, murderers, liars | 04 (20) |
| | j) Other or miscellaneous | 12 (69) |
| | | 99 N=565 |
| 2. What are the first words you think about when you hear the term, "Negro?" | a) Very favorable | 08 (43) |
| | b) Favorable | 10 (56) |
| | c) Neutral | 48(272) |
| | d) Unfavorable | 11 (63) |
| | e) Very unfavorable | 23(130) |
| | | 100 N=564 |
| | (1 response was not classifiable) | |
| 3. What are the first words you think about when you hear the term, "Negro?" | a) No stereotype | 69(388) |
| | b) Offensive or animal-like behavior | 09 (51) |
| | c) Slum-dweller | 07 (40) |
| | d) Mental inferiority | 01 ( 8) |
| | e) General inferiority | 13 (76) |
| | f) Inferior skills or abilities | 01 ( 5) |
| | g) Slow, lazy, lacking ambition | 02 (12) |
| | h) Criminal tendencies | 11 (64) |
| | i) Dirty, unclean | 01 ( 8) |
| | | N=564 |

*Percentages shown in this table and the following tables sometimes add up to more or less than 100 due to the effects of rounding.

TABLE 1 (Cont'd.)

| Item | Classification or Categorization of Responses to the Item | % (N) |
|---|---|---|
| 4. About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | a) 0 | 36(214) |
| | b) 1-2 | 22(130) |
| | c) 3-4 | 14 (83) |
| | d) 5-6 | 10 (62) |
| | e) 7-8 | 02 (14) |
| | f) 9-10 | 07 (40) |
| | g) 11-15 | 03 (15) |
| | h) 16-20 | 01 ( 4) |
| | i) 20+ | 05 (29) |
| | | 100 N=591 |
| 5. Do you like the average Negro you have met? | a) Almost all | 26(146) |
| | b) Most | 26(150) |
| | c) Some | 23(130) |
| | d) Few | 14 (80) |
| | e) Hardly any | 05 (31) |
| | f) None | 06 (35) |
| | | 100 N=572 |
| 6. How many Negro friends do you have about your own age? | a) 0 | 50(296) |
| | b) 1 | 18(103) |
| | c) 2 | 13 (75) |
| | d) 3 | 07 (40) |
| | e) 4 | 03 (17) |
| | f) 5-6 | 03 (16) |
| | g) 7-8 | 02 (10) |
| | h) 9-10 | 02 (11) |
| | i) 11+ | 03 (17) |
| | | 101 N=585 |
| 7. Do you think it is desirable or undesirable for our country to be separated into two nations, one white and one black? | a) Very undesirable | 42(244) |
| | b) Undesirable | 29(168) |
| | c) Unsure | 21(124) |
| | d) Desirable | 03 (18) |
| | e) Very desirable | 05 (32) |
| | | 100 N=586 |

TABLE 1 (Cont'd.)

| Item | Classification or Categorization of Responses to the Item | % (N) |
|---|---|---|
| 8. About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust? | a) None | 09 (45) |
| | b) 1-10% | 15 (78) |
| | c) 11-20 | 03 (16) |
| | d) 21-30 | 09 (48) |
| | e) 31-40 | 04 (19) |
| | f) 41-50 | 21 (107) |
| | g) 51-60 | 03 (15) |
| | h) 61-80 | 19 (95) |
| | i) 81-100 | 16 (81) |
| | | 99 N=504 |
| 9. What do you think is the most important thing that should be done to improve race relations? | Orientation of Answers toward Black Americans | |
| | a) Obviously sympathetic | 36 (182) |
| | b) Sympathetic | 35 (178) |
| | c) Unsympathetic | 12 (62) |
| | d) Obviously unsympathetic | 16 (83) |
| | | 99 N=505 |
| | (42 responses were not classifiable) | |
| 10. What do you think is the most important thing that should be done to improve race relations? | Type of Suggestions | |
| | a) Understanding through intergroup cooperation and dialogue | 22 (120) |
| | b) End prejudice, disregard color | 12 (66) |
| | c) Achieve civil rights and equality | 09 (50) |
| | d) Live up to the ideals of equality and justice | 05 (28) |
| | e) Education, of blacks and whites | 03 (18) |
| | f) Integration of schools, neighborhood, etc. | 04 (20) |
| | g) Intermarriage | 00 (2) |
| | h) More vigorous action to suppress disorder | 04 (22) |
| | i) Deport or exterminate blacks or other minority groups | 08 (41) |
| | j) Segregation or separation of the races | 03 (18) |
| | k) Provide jobs, eliminate poverty, clean up ghettoes | 04 (21) |
| | l) Response evaded or ignored the problem | 01 (8) |
| | m) Don't know | 09 (49) |
| | n) Other | 15 (87) |
| | | 99 N= 547 |

TABLE 2

Relation Between Attitude Toward Blacks and Number of Blacks Known Well for Subjects Classified by Trust in Blacks (N = 486)

| | About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust? 0-20% | | | 21-50% | | | 51-100% | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Do you like the average Negro you have met? | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any, or none | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any, or none | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any, or none |
| About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| 0 | 02 (1) | 20(11) | 78(42) | 41(24) | 29(17) | 29(17) | 69(35) | 24(12) | 08 (4) |
| 1-2 | 23(12) | 21(11) | 56(29) | 43(25) | 41(24) | 16 (9) | 85(58) | 10 (7) | 04 (3) |
| 3 or more | 27 (8) | 23 (7) | 50(15) | 56(28) | 28(14) | 16 (8) | 86(56) | 11 (7) | 03 (2) |
| | $X^2$=8.42;* C=.24 $p < .025$ | | | $X^2$=6.69; $p > .10$ | | | $X^2$=7.00;* C=.19 $p < .05$ | | |

*Starred $X^2$ values denote instances in which small cell frequencies made it necessary to combine columns or rows in computing statistics.

**C is the contingency coefficient. This measure of correlation is shown for $X^2$ values which were significant at or beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 3

Relation Between Trust in Blacks and Number of Blacks Known Well for Subjects Classified by Attitude Toward Blacks (N = 486)

| | Do you like the average Negro you have met? Almost all or most | | | Some | | | Few, hardly any, or none | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | 0 | 1-2 | 3 or more | 0 | 1-2 | 3 or more | 0 | 1-2 | 3 or more |
| About what percentage of whites do you feel you can trust? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| 0-20% | 05 (1) | 57(12) | 38 (8) | 38(11) | 38(11) | 24 (7) | 49(42) | 34 (29) | 17(15) |
| 21-50% | 31(24) | 32(25) | 36(28) | 31(17) | 44(24) | 25(14) | 50(17) | 26 (9) | 24 (8) |
| 51-100% | 23(35) | 39(58) | 38(58) | 46(12) | 27 (7) | 27 (7) | 44 (4) | 33 (3) | 22 (2) |
| | $X^2$=.09;* p > .10 | | | $X^2$=2.49; p> .10 | | | $X^2$=.80;* p> .10 | | |

TABLE 4

Relation Between Trust in Blacks and Attitude Toward Blacks for Subjects Classified by Number of Blacks Known Well (N = 486)

| | About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1-2 | 3 or more | 0 | 1-2 | 3 or more | 0 | 1-2 | 3 or more |
| Do you like the average Negro you have met | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any, or none | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any, or none | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any, or none |
| About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| 0-20% | 02 (1) | 20(11) | 78(42) | 23(12) | 21(11) | 56(29) | 27 (8) | 23 (7) | 50(15) |
| 21-50% | 41(24) | 29(17) | 29(17) | 43(25) | 41(24) | 16 (9) | 56(28) | 28(14) | 16 (8) |
| 51-100% | 69(35) | 24(12) | 08 (4) | 85(58) | 10 (7) | 04 (3) | 86(56) | 11 (7) | 3 (2) |
| | Small cell numbers made it impossible to compute $X^2$ for this part of the table. | | | $X^2$=49.51*; C=.47 p <.001 | | | $X^2$=33.16*; C=.43 p < .001 | | |

TABLE 5

Relation Between Negative Stereotyping of Blacks and Attitude Toward Blacks for Subjects Classified by Number of Blacks Known Well (N = 535)

| | About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | | | 1-2 | | | 3 or more | | |
| Number of negative stereotypes expressed | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Do you like the average Negro you have met? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| Almost all or most | 78(53) | 12 (8) | 10 (7) | 78(88) | 12(14) | 10(11) | 87(87) | 06 (6) | 07 (7) |
| Some | 71(35) | 22(11) | 06 (3) | 62(28) | 20 (9) | 18 (8) | 74(20) | 11 (3) | 15 (4) |
| Few, hardly any, or none | 40(27) | 31(21) | 28(19) | 41(17) | 17 (7) | 41(17) | 48(12) | 20 (5) | 32 (8) |
| | $X^2$=22.66*; C=.33; p <.001 | | | $X^2$=24.27; C=.32; p <.001 | | | $X^2$=18.22*; C=.33 p <.001 | | |

TABLE 6

Relation Between Negative Stereotyping of Blacks and Number of Blacks Known Well for Subjects Classified by Attitude Toward Blacks (N = 535)

| | Do you like the average Negro you have met? | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Almost all or most | | | Some | | | Few, hardly any, or none | | |
| Number of negative stereotypes expressed | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| 0 | 78(53) | 12 (8) | 10 (7) | 71(35) | 22(11) | 06 (3) | 40(27) | 31(21) | 28(19) |
| 1-2 | 78(88) | 12(14) | 10(11) | 62(28) | 20 (9) | 18 (8) | 41(17) | 17 (7) | 41(17) |
| 3 or more | 87(87) | 06 (6) | 07 (7) | 74(20) | 11 (3) | 15 (4) | 48(12) | 20 (5) | 32 (8) |
| | $X^2$=3.77; p > .10 | | | $X^2$=1.41;* p> .10 | | | $X^2$=.45; p > .10 | | |

TABLE 7

Relation Between Number of Blacks Known Well and Attitude Toward Blacks for Subjects Classified by Stereotyping of Blacks (N = 535)

| | Number of Negative Stereotypes Expressed | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | | | 1 | | | 2 | | |
| Do you like the average Negro you have met? | Almost all or most | Some | Few hardly any or none | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any or none | Almost all or most | Some | Few, hardly any,or none |
| About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| 0 | 46(53) | 30(35) | 23(27) | 20 (8) | 28(11) | 53(21) | 24 (7) | 10 (3) | 66(19) |
| 1-2 | 66(88) | 21(28) | 13(17) | 47(14) | 30 (9) | 23 (7) | 31(11) | 22 (8) | 47(17) |
| 3 or more | 73(87) | 17(20) | 10(12) | 43 (6) | 21 (3) | 36 (5) | 37 (7) | 21 (4) | 42 (8) |
| | $X^2$=20.14; C=.22 p <.001 | | | $X^2$=6.16*; C=.26 p < .05 | | | $X^2$=3.18*; p> .10 | | |

TABLE 8a.

Percent Distribution of Suggestions for Improving Race Relations for Respondents Classified by Number of Blacks Known Well and by Kinds of Stereotypes of Blacks

What do you think is the most important thing that should be done to improve race relations?

| | Understanding through cooperation | End prejudice disregard color | Achieve civil rights and equality | Live up to equality and justice | Education for blacks and whites | Integration | Intermarriage | More vigorous action to suppress disorder | Deport or Exterminate | Segregation | Provide jobs, eliminate poverty, clean up ghettoes | Evaded Answering | Don't Know | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| About how many Negroes would you say you know well? | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) | % (N) |
| 0 | 19(37) | 13(26) | 09(18) | 04 (8) | 04 (7) | 04 (7) | 01 (1) | 05 (9) | 12(23) | 05(10) | 02 (4) | 0 (?) | 10(19) | 14(27) |
| 1-2 | 21(23) | 12(13) | 12(13) | 04 (4) | 03 (4) | 03 (3) | 00 (0) | 03 (3) | 07 (8) | 02 (2) | 05 (6) | 02 (2) | 11(12) | 17(19) |
| 3-4 | 30(23) | 14(11) | 10 (8) | 09 (7) | 03 (2) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 04 (3) | 04 (3) | 03 (2) | 03 (2) | 00 (0) | 05 (4) | 17(13) |
| 5 or more | 22(33) | 9(14) | 08(12) | 07(10) | 05 (5) | 11(10) | 01 (1) | 04 (7) | 05 (7) | 03 (4) | 06 (9) | 03 (4) | 11(17) | 15(24) |

TABLE 8b.

Percent Distribution of Suggestions for Improving Race Relations by Respondents Classified by Kinds of Stereotypes of Blacks and by Number of Blacks Known Well

| | What are the first words you think about when you hear the term, "Negro?" (Classified by kind of stereotype) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kind of Stereotype | Understanding through cooperation | End prejudice disregard color | Achieve civil rights and equality | Live up to equality and justice | Education for blacks and whites | Integration | Intermarriage | More vigorous action to suppress disorder | Deport or exterminate | Segregation | Provide jobs, eliminate poverty, clean up ghettoes | Evaded Answering | Don't Know | Other |
| No stereotype | % (N) 26(93) | % (N) 15(53) | % (N) 10(37) | % (N) 05(19) | % (N) 03(12) | % (N) 05(18) | % (N) 00 (0) | % (N) 04(13) | % (N) 02 (8) | % (N) 02 (8) | % (N) 04(14) | % (N) 01 (5) | % (N) 08(27) | % (N) 14(51) |
| Offensive or animal-like behavior | 02 (2) | 18(15) | 10 (8) | 23(19) | 02 (2) | 00 (0) | 01 (1) | 02 (2) | 08 (7) | 04 (3) | 01 (1) | 02 (2) | 11 (9) | 14(12) |
| Slum-dweller | 26(14) | 13 (7) | 17 (9) | 11 (6) | 02 (1) | 00 (0) | 04 (2) | 11 (6) | 04 (2) | 04 (2) | 04 (2) | 00 (0) | 06 (3) | |
| Inferiority (mental, general, specific skills) | 10(14) | 11(15) | 16(22) | 20(28) | 00 (0) | 02 (3) | 00 (0) | 06 (8) | 12(16) | 02 (3) | 02 (3) | 01 (1) | 09(12) | 09(13) |
| Lazy | 11 (2) | 11 (2) | 21 (4) | 16 (3) | 05 (1) | 00 (0) | 05 (1) | 00 (0) | 05 (1) | 05 (1) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 05 (1) | 16 (3) |
| Criminal | 07 (7) | 18(17) | 13(13) | 20(19) | 04 (4) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 03 (3) | 07 (7) | 04 (4) | 02 (2) | 01 (1) | 04 (4) | 16(16) |
| Dirty | 07 (1) | 00 (0) | 13 (2) | 33 (5) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 33 (5) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 00 (0) | 07 (1) | 07 (1) |